

PROPHETOLOGY OF SHĀH WALĪ ALLĀH

M. S. BALJON

In Muslim mysticism a controversial subject is the proper evaluation of prophet and saint. To which of these holy men must preference be given? The Koran is silent on this point. In contradistinction to the Old Testament account, human frailties of the people charged with a divine mission are seldom or never mentioned and in this Holy Book there is an unmistakable tendency to depict prophetic figures as saints. In *taṣawwuf*, however, the factual point at issue in this dispute is the importance to be attached to the *sharī'a*. For full-fledged ṣūfis the relevance of its precept is limited to the initial stages of the journey to divine realities, whereas more 'moderate' mystics wish to maintain the validity of the commandments divulged by the Messenger of God, for all the spheres of human life.

In the days of Shah Walī Allāh (1703-62) the question whether primacy should be granted to the prophet or the saint was of great moment. The followers of Aḥmad Sirhindī (1564-1624) stood up for the superiority of the prophet, because they stressed the need of a strict obedience to the *sharī'a* to counter the heresies introduced by the Moghul emperor Akbar. The admirers of Ibn al- 'Arabī, however, took *wilāya* (sainthood) for the basis of all spiritual ranks. In the thought of Shāh Walī Allāh himself the prophet plays, as we shall see, a most prominent part. Still, his great regard for the person of a prophet does not prevent him from adopting at the same time several views of Ibn al-'Arabī in his prophetology. Also in this respect the Delhi reformer remains true to his self-imposed task to unite the parties by offering synthetic solutions for disputed points of doctrine.

But instead of running ahead of our conclusions we do better first to turn our attention to the views of prophecy Shah Walī Allah has expressed in his writings.

(I) *Occasion and ends for the mission of a prophet.*

Man, as is taught in the Koran, was created as a *homo religiosus* (Sūra xxx, 29/30). And a *dahrī*, a materialist, as is inferred by Shāh Walī Allāh, is somebody who contradicts the knowledge of God, granted to him by birth¹. In other words, Islam has in principle no need of a founder of religion.

However, and that is also a fact underlined by our author, man is neither an angel nor a beast. An angel cannot do anything else but act righteously, and a beast is bound to follow his instincts without any commitment to ethical rules of conduct. Man is a combination of angel and beast. He possesses angelic leanings and animal passions.² And thus it can happen that at a certain moment people may neglect their religion to such an extent that it gives the divine wisdom cause to put into the heart of a pure person (*zaki*) the impulse to preach right knowledge to his people and to rouse them to actions of moral improvement³. Such a personality becomes qualified for the receipt of revelations and is an instrument that God wants to have for his private use. Hence He declared to Moses: 'I have brought you up for My own sake'⁴ (Sūra xx, 43/41).

Moreover, there have been in history three crucial moments in which the sending of a prophet was most urgently required. Thus Shāh Walī Allāh distinguishes three periods of *djāhiliyya*, barbarism, instead of two as is done in the current Muslim theology. Besides the periods between Adam and Noah, and between Jesus and Mohammad, he marks out a third *djāhiliyya* of the epoch after the public appearance of Hūd and Šālīḥ. At that time we see the emergence of *millas* with worshippers of stars and naturalists. And it is Abraham who succeeds in dispelling this darkness of religious decay by his fight against astrology.⁵

These actions of reform, it should be noticed, had a still wider significance than being merely a refutation of false belief. They occasioned simultaneously a turn in the history of religious thinking. For also righteous believers in the period before Abraham used to assume the existence of particular potencies in heavenly bodies which determined the course of events on earth. And Idrīs is to be looked upon as the first astrologer.⁶ From the time of Abraham, however, believers began to recognize that apart from cosmic powers it were particularly the angelic forces which had had a regulative function in the history of the world. And in this new age knowledge dripped from them upon the minds of the leaders of humanity, and from now on *shari'as* descended for the guidance of mankind⁷.

To my mind, this is a very important view of Shāh Walī Allāh. In the West an often repeated objection to Islam is that this faith would not know of a God who is continuously acting in the history of men, and that the idea of a constant divine concern for mankind would be alien to the teachings of the Koran.⁸ Well then our Delhi divine argues that Abraham acted not only as a preacher and reformer but also as an instrument of God's progressive revelation. Still more explicitly developed is this

notion in Shāh Walī Allāh's exposition of the sciences which he finds explained in the Koran. The third science consisting of the remembrance of God's favours to men, demonstrated *inter alia* in His creation of heaven and earth, is according to him a knowledge with which Abraham was especially endowed. The fourth science pertains to the recalling to mind of 'the days of God', *i.e.*, of events Allāh caused to happen in order to reward the obedient and to punish the sinner. That kind of instruction became the privilege of Moses. The fifth science relates to the reminding of death and what follows upon it, the eschatology. Insight into that knowledge was revealed to the seal of the prophets, Moḥammed.⁹

The task of a prophet is to set up order in social, political and economic life. To that end he has a *sharī'a* at his disposal. Here Shah Walī Allāh's invaluable contribution to Muslim thought is his postulate that in accordance with the divine wisdom the provisions of the *sharī'a* are adapted to the customs, usages and notions of the people and country where the prophet has to work. God's way of acting is comparable with that of a physician who reckons with the different dispositions and characters of his patients, when giving his prescriptions. Thus God did not fix a provision for the Jews to the effect that booty could be considered allowable property. But for us, Muslims, He did so, reviewing at a given moment our weak economic position.¹⁰ And if changes had to be introduced, the divine management tried to furnish compensations so that people might not become confused. Thus the Arabs of pre-Islamic days used to throw arrows, if they had to find out proper times, and means for a journey, a marriage, and so on. The Prophet had to forbid this custom, since it was pure gambling. But as a substitute for it Moḥammed established the institution of *istikhāra*, *i.e.*, the prayer done with the hope of receiving divine advice and enlightenment through which one is instructed how to manage one's affairs.¹¹ In other words, according to our author, Allah appears in His revelatory activities to be a prudent educator who adapts the rites and rules of obligatory worship to the surroundings and situation present among the various nations and regions.

From this the inference could be made that apparently in the opinion of Shāh Walī Allāh all the religions are alike and that there would be no need of a universal religion. But then we learn that only before the appearance of Moḥammed we are allowed to speak of a certain equality of truth in the different existing creeds. And the last of the prophets actually fulfilled a double mission; a limited one in behalf of the sons of Ismael, and a universal one for the whole world¹². For 'God wished

to 'polish' (*pāk kardan*) the Arabs with the hand of the Prophet, and to 'polish' the remaining nations with the hand of the Arabs'.¹³

According to the Muslim doctrines a prophet should have miracles at his disposal for legitimation. Shāh Walī Allāh does not reject this point of view; yet he deems it not a condition *per se*. It can be otherwise: people might put faith in a prophet for other reasons, *i.e.*, on account of a rational argumentation (*burhān*), or because of his behaviour (*samt*) which distinguished him from other people.¹⁴

(II) *The psychic structure of a prophet.*

To make him capable of receiving revelations, the prophet must be mentally prepared. And before becoming an active messenger of God, Moḥammed acquired (*iktisāb farmūda*) wisdom (*ḥikma*), purity of character (*'iṣma*) and the abilities for spiritual leadership (*quṭb-i bāṭinī*).¹⁵ Another possibility for him to gain prophetic light is the *qurb al-farā'id*, the approach to God through a close observance of the divine precepts (*farā'id*). As a result of this *qurb*, God irradiates Himself in the mirror of the '*ayn-i thābita*, *i.e.*, the transcendental archetype of man's personality.¹⁶ Such epiphanies are adapted to the dispositions of the receivers. Moses was of a fiery nature. Hence God manifested Himself to him in a fire.¹⁷

At the end of the psychic evolution of somebody intended to become a prophet, a divine robe (*khil'a*) is thrown on his human form.¹⁸ Then three stars begin to shine. The first is that of *waḥy*, revelation, on account of which divine knowledge is effused unto his heart through the medium of angels. *Waḥy* is, so to say, sublimed *ḥikma*; and it produces as a concrete effect eloquent and admonishing preaching. The second star stands for *ḥifẓ*, protection. It is '*iṣma* on a higher level, and produces as a concrete effect juridical qualities for the settlement of quarrels. The third star represents *quṭb-i irshādī*, which has as concrete effect worldly dominion. It is the perfection of *quṭb-i bāṭinī*.¹⁹

Prophets are the ideal types of men. They apply themselves to this and the next world with equally intense efforts.²⁰ And when their shadow falls upon our world, mankind is favoured with the blessings both of moral training and of well-ordered polity.²¹

(III) *Heirs of prophethood*

Moḥammed is the seal of prophets, as the Koran teaches us. That means, so our Delhi scholar admits, that there will not arise a new prophet after him, but it does not imply at all that now the prophetic light has

been extinguished for ever. On the contrary, Moḥammed has his heirs, that is to say, people in the possession of prophetic capacities without being prophets themselves. Has not the Prophet himself declared that an authentic vision is a forty-sixth part of prophethood?²²

Those heirs can be divided into three groups: the companions of the Prophet, the *walīs* (saints) and the *ḥakīms* (sages). Among the companions two categories can be discerned: (a) The close relatives and servants of Mohammed, who are the heirs of *hikma*, '*isma* and *wadjāha* (distinction). *Wadjāha* is a synonym of *qutb-i bāṭinī*-ship; and the virtues characteristic of this subdivision are *waqār* (dignity), serenity of mind and the ability to show what a true religion in fact comes to. (b) The rightly guided caliphs, who are the heirs of *ḥifẓ*, *talqīn* (instruction) and *irshād*. And the most excellent of them, Abū Bakr and 'Umar, have completed the prophethood of Mohammed in a way analogous to Joshua, who as the caliph of Moses finished the work of his predecessor by giving the Jewish nation political stability.²³

The second group of heirs, the *walīs*, are the people whose *nafs-i nāṭīqa* (rational self) is coloured by the colour of the messenger of God. The *nafs-i nāṭīqa* is that which stamps a person as an individuality. It relates to human existence in the phenomenal world, whereas the '*ayn-i thābita* (archetypal individuality) refers to man's personality on a higher level of being. Characteristic of the *walīs* is the *qurb al-nawāfīl*, i.e., the approach to God through works of supererogation. The *walī* is a man of great purity, against whom the *kashf* (revelation) is reflected, in contrast with the prophet over whom the *kashf* is effused. Unlike the prophets and *ḥakīms*, the *walīs* cannot give effective guidance to the community as a whole, because they are not in possession of theoretical as well as practical knowledge, a combination which is a requisite for leadership. They are either the type of a *homo theoreticus* as e.g. Ibn 'Arabī, or the type of a *homo practicus* like the founders of ṣūfī orders. But they are never both types in one.²⁴

Also different from the prophets is the structure of the '*isma* of the *walīs*. Through their ascetic attitude towards life they are by nature men of *taqwā*, continence, and insensible to sexual attractions. To them it does not make any difference whether they are confronted with a charming lady. Prophets, however, know sexual passions. Consequently, '*isma* has to be spread over them as a protecting garment²⁵. An illustration of it is the case of Joseph, in whom a flame of love for the wife of Potiphar took fire. Then a *burhān* was sent by God to protect him.²⁶ Interesting to note is that Shāh Walī Allāh regards the prophetic '*isma*

as of a more sublime nature than that of the *walīs*. It seems that he feels more sympathy for really human people than for 'unnatural' renouncers of the world!

The third group of heirs, the *ḥakīms* forms an intermediate link (*barzakh*) between prophets and *walīs*. The prophet as an *ummi* (whose mind is a *tabula rasa* free from preconceived ideas) receives the instructions (*aḥkām*) from God directly. The *ḥakīm* gains the *aḥkām* indirectly, i.e., by way of the '*ayn-i thābita*'. Also the *walī* acquires them indirectly, but not through his '*ayn-i thābita*' which is of a transcendental level, but through his heart (*sirr*) which is bound to his empirical existence.²⁷ Or, to put it differently: while the *walīs* must approach the divine world by purification of their souls, with the aid of asceticism and supererogatory works, the *ḥakīms* have the possibility of approaching God by way of *wudjūd*, a kind of being available in the '*alam-i mithāl*', the intermediate world where everything is prefigured before becoming concrete in our external world. The *ḥakīm* is so to say the materialised intellect (*al-aql al-hayūlī*), while the prophet represents the active intellect (*al-'aql bi'l-f'i'l*).²⁸ Because the prophet has to concentrate on the revelatory processes as such, he has hardly time left for the elaboration of the information received by revelation, such as the substantiation of ethical rules and so on. This now is a task reserved for his heir, the *ḥakīm*, in his capacity of materialized intellect²⁹. Is it surprising that Shāh Walī Allāh, being called by a divine vision to act as a reformer, considered himself as a typical representative of the *ḥakīm*-family? Talking of himself he tells us: 'Eleven ages after the *hidjra* there was a man, gifted with inner light, who began to apply himself to the *qurb al-wudjūd*. Thus he became an *imām* (leader) of the pious, and an '*iṣām*' (string) of the *ḥakīms*. And he prayed to God that He might make him a seal of the pure *ḥakīms*.³⁰

(IV) *Hidden backgrounds of prophetic figures who succeeded each other in a continuous line from Adam to Mohammed.*

In the works of Shāh Walī Allāh we meet three interpretations of a deeper sense which can be unearthed from the prophetic tales of the Koran, namely:

(1) The prophets who represent various manifestations of divine attributes;

(2) The prophets recognized as typical exponents of historic situations;

(3) The prophets who appear to be prototypes of an ascending progression of stages of the journey made by the mystic to reach the highest.

About the first discovered hidden meaning with reference to the specification of divine attributes in the person of a prophet we are informed in the esoteric monograph *al-Khayr al-kathīr*. All the divine messengers pass under review: 'The origin (*mabda'*) of Adam's individuation (*ta'ayyun*) is the Name of God *al-murīd*, the Purposer, *i.e.*, He who is busy with creating. Thus Adam was very intent on procreation and cultivation of land, representations (*tamāthīl*) of divine creation'. 'And the origin of Moses' individuation were the *thabūtiyyāt*, the positive predicates of God like knowing, willing, speaking, hearing and seeing. For that reason Moses wrote a voluminous book, was charged with *djihād* and proved to be a wise ruler of his *umma*. In view of this abundance of fine virtues he most resembles our Prophet. Only, he was not the seal of the prophets.³¹

A completely different conception of the significance of the prophets, however, our author demonstrates in his *Ta'wīl al-aḥādīth*. There they are no longer earthly manifestations of various aspects of the divine Essence, but media with the help of whom God offers His lessons of history to men and angels. To give a few examples. The Koran tells us that at a given moment God commands the angels to prostrate themselves before Adam. The underlying idea of the episode, it is argued in this treatise, is to explain that by praying and pleading for men the angels in fact are worshipping God. In other words, Adam and his sons form the *qibla* of their worship.³² The story of Šāliḥ and the she-camel is given the following elucidation: 'In the *malakūt* (world of Sovereignty) every evil takes the shape of an animal, since evil has a special affinity to animals. On the request of Šāliḥ the wickedness of the Thamūdites took the shape of a she-camel. And by killing her, the wickedness spread into all directions. And a hurricane broke, accompanied by earthquakes. This punitive wonder was adapted to the environment where the Thamūdites lived. For they inhabited a mountainous region.³³

The third manner in which Shāh Walī Allāh attributes a symbolic sense to the proceeding line of prophets, is by representing them as exponents of stages a mystic passes along to reach ecstasy. This procedure is described in the second volume of the *Tafhīmāt*. Here the author begins with the statement that God favoured him with the way leading to full maturity (*kamāl*), on account of which he was enabled to follow closely upon the *maqāmāt* (stages) and *aḥwāl* (mystic experiences) of God's messengers. The way itself was marked out by seven *dawā'ir*, regions which had to be traversed one after the other.³⁴

The first of them was the *dā'ira* of *īmān* (faith). This is the province where Adam functions as a leader (*imām*). Faith implies the obedience to God with heart and body. And this was an occupation specific of Adam who aimed at the perfection of his *nasama*, for which he had to fight with the Devil.³⁵

In *Shāh Walī Allāh's* technical terminology *nasama* ('breath') stands for a subtle substance which flows through the human body to push along its physical and psychic potencies. After death and during the decomposition of the body it still keeps on functioning for a time, in order that man can be punished and rewarded as long as he lies in his grave, waiting for the Resurrection. In that interim period his psychic apperceptions are kept alive by the *nasama*³⁶. A more negative aspect of the *nasama* is that it also tries to draw man's *nafs-i nāfiqa* to the earth. Consequently, if the *nafs-i nāfiqa* wants to come into closer contact with the origin, the *nafs-i kullīyya* (universal soul), it must loosen its fetters with the *nasama*. Now that is exactly the activity, in which the mystic traveller is engaged in the second *dā'ira*, called *sharḥ al-ṣadr*.³⁷ Here he has to reduce the influence of the *nasama* and to strengthen the power of the *nafs-i nāfiqa*. By doing this he follows the example of *Idrīs* (Enoch), who is the prophet belonging to this *dā'ira*. In the third phase, styled *qurb al-nawafil*, the *nafs-i nāfiqa* is prepared for the reception of the divine *tadjallī* (irradiation). In that stage one becomes, as is stated in a famous *ḥadīth qudsī*,³⁸ the ear, eye and foot of God. The exemplary model in this territory is the prophet Noah. The fourth *dā'ira*, qualified as *qurb al-wudjūd*, is marked off by *ḥikma*, i.e., insight into the creation and so on. This is the speciality of Abraham and Joseph. Then follows the *dā'ira* of the *qurb al-farā'id*, on account of which the *tadjallī* can reach the '*ayn-i thābita*. In this domain Moses is the *imām*. The sixth *dā'ira* is characterised by *al-qurb al-malakūti*. The foundation of this way to approach God is the *ḥadīth*: 'When God loves a servant, He tells Gabriel. Then Gabriel conceives love for him, and makes the name of the chosen one known to the other angels, whereupon they too conceive love for him'³⁹. Here we are on the ground of Jesus. The last *dā'ira* is that of *kamāl*, full maturity. This is the territory of Moḥammed. And having himself arrived at this point, *Shāh Walī Allāh* enjoyed the following rapturous experience: 'It was as if my garments were taken off, so that I became naked. Thereupon the Messenger of God appeared and came to my left side. I was clothed with a divine garb. Then I cried: *Ḥaqq, ḥaqq, ḥaqq!* And a steady heavy rain of divine emanations descended upon me from above, from the left and from the right. No tongue can describe this. Praise be to God'⁴⁰

So far Shāh Walī Allāh's views of prophecy. In conclusion some comments. It appears that in these expositions the usual discussion is evaded whether prophecy is a natural giftedness or merely a divine favour, and whether it can be acquired by human efforts or depends entirely upon heavenly interference.⁴¹ The reason is that, on the whole, the interest of our theologian is not focussed upon subtle distinctions between the domains of God's and man's activities. In his system of thought all attention is drawn to the *interrelation* of cosmic, divine, terrestrial and human powers and effects. In the universe anything and everything is mutually correlated, a premiss emerging from the concept of *waḥdat al-wuḍūd* (unity of being). And the basic postulate is that nothing can come into realization as long as all the required preparations are not made. Hence prophecy can only be realized if beforehand on the side of the recipient the qualities of *ḥikma*, *iṣma* and *quṭb-i bāṭinī* are acquired.

With respect to prophetic miracles, their possibility is not denied (Shāh Walī Allāh considers as much as possible the feelings of orthodoxy) but whenever an opportunity of their de-mythologization presents itself, it is seized with great eagerness. Also in his awareness of the historical setting of the prophetic revelation our author appears to be far ahead of his times.

In the controversy on the priority of the prophet or the saint, it is obvious that our author underlines the eminence of the former. Similarly, his acknowledgement of the relevancy of the *shari'a* is evident. But this does not mean that he follows unconditionally the line of Aḥmad Sirhindī and that he would be insensible to the thought of Ibn al-'Arabī. The explanation of the signification of the prophets he offers in *al-Khayr al-kathīr* shows a striking resemblance with the elucidations found in the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. And when by calling himself an Uwaysī⁴³ he gives expression to his spiritual attachment to the Prophet, he is again in complete agreement with Ibn al-'Arabī.⁴⁴ Just like the latter⁴⁵, he claims for himself the ability to discern intuitively between the basic teaching of religion as has been handed down by Moḥammed and which part of the traditions has been crept in and tampered with.⁴⁶ And when he argues that the relation of the pre-existent Moḥammed to the other prophets and his heirs is similar to that between a whole and its parts,⁴⁷ he repeats the teachings of his great predecessor.⁴⁸

The most subtle indication, however, of his attitude of compromise in the dispute on the primacy of the prophet or saint is that he credits himself with the function of a *ḥakīm*, i.e., the connecting link between the prophet and the *walī*.

NOTES

1. Shāh Walī Allāh, *Hudjdjat Allāh al-bāligha* (Delhi, 1374), I, p. 79.
2. *Idem*, I, p. 26.
3. Shāh Walī Allāh, *Izālat al-khifā' 'an khilāfat al-khulafā'* (Bareilly, n.d.), I, p. 51.
4. *Hudjdjat Allāh al-bāligha*, I, p. 24.
5. Shāh Walī Allāh, *al-Budūr al-bāzigha* (Bidjnavr, 1354), p. 188 f.
6. *Enzyklopaedie des Islām* (Leiden, 1927), II, p. 479. Shāh Walī Allāh, *Ta'wil al-aḥādīth* (Hyderabad, W. Pakistan, 1966), p. 17.
7. *Ta'wil al-aḥādīth*, p. 28.
8. Cf. e.g. L. Gardet in *Enc. of Islam* (New edition), I, p. 406: "(In the Koran) there is strictly speaking no progressive revelation of Allāh".
9. *Hudjdjat Allāh al-bāligha*, I, p. 55.
10. *Idem*, I, p. 89. Presumably, Shāh Walī Allāh alludes here to the narrative of the capture of Jericho in Joshua 6-7 and Sūra VIII, 70/69.
11. *Hudjdjat Allāh al-bāligha*, II, p. 19.
12. *Idem*, I, p. 84.
13. Shāh Walī Allāh, *al-Fawz al-kabīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr* (Delhi, 1922), p. 15.
14. Shāh Walī Allāh, *al-Khayr al-kathīr, khizāna* 5.
15. Shāh Walī Allāh, *Tafhīmāt-i Ilāhiyya* (Dābhel, 1355), II, p. 13.
16. *Al-Khayr al-kathīr, khizāna* 4.
17. *Tafhīmāt-i Ilāhiyya*, II, p. 106.
18. *Idem*, I, p. 177.
19. *Al-Khayr al-kathīr, khizāna* 6.
20. *Hudjdjat Allāh al-bāligha*, I, p. 26.
21. Shāh Walī Allāh, *Qurraṭ al-'aynayn fī tafḥīl al-shaykhayn* (Delhi, 1310), p. 328.
22. *Hudjdjat Allāh al-bāligha*, II, p. 90. This tradition is found in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī (91, 2).
23. *Izālat al-khifā' 'an khilāfat al-khulafā'*, II, p. 3.
24. *al-Khayr al-kathīr, khizāna* 7.
25. *Tafhīmāt-i Ilāhiyya*, I, p. 260 f.
26. *Ta'wil al-aḥādīth*, p. 34 f.
27. *Al-Khayr al-kathīr, khizāna* 4.
28. *Idem, khizāna* 7.
29. *Idem, khizāna* 7.
30. *Idem, khizāna* 4.
31. *Idem, khizāna* 5.
32. *Ta'wil al-aḥādīth*, p. 13.
33. *Idem*, p. 21 f.
34. *Tafhīmāt-i Ilāhiyya*, II, p. 62 f.
35. *Idem*, II, p. 71.
36. *Al-Budūr al-bāzigha*, p. 33 and 146; *Tafhīmāt-i Ilāhiyya*, I, p. 148.
37. *Tafhīmāt-i Ilāhiyya*, II, p. 64.
38. *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī, K. *al-riqāq, bāb al-tawāḍu'*.
39. Al-Qushayrī, *Risāla fī 'ilm al-taṣūwuf* (Cairo, 1330), p. 143 f.
40. *Tafhīmāt-i Ilāhiyya*, II, p. 70 f.
41. Cf. F. Rahman, *Prophecy in Islam* (London, 1958), *passim*.

42. See J. M. S. Baljon, *Two Lists of Prophets*, *Nederl. Theol. Tijdschrift*, XXI (1966), 2, p. 88.
43. A ṣūfī who stands in no need of a *pir*, since he obtains like the Yemenite contemporary of Moḥammed, Uways al-Qaranī, spiritual knowledge directly from the Prophet.
44. Cf. H. Corbin, *L'Imagination creatrice dans le Soufisme d'Ibn 'Arabī* (Paris, 1958), p. 26: "Le cas d'Ibn 'Arabī, comme disciple de Khezr, rentre dans le cas de ceux des soufis quise désignent comme des Owaysis".
45. *JRAS*, 1906, p. 822.
46. See the final lines of his autobiography *al-Djuz' al-laṭīf fī tardjama al-'abd al-ḡa'īf*.
47. Shāh Walī Allāh, *Fuyūḍ al-ḥaramayn*, Mashhad 11.
48. Cf. A. E. Affifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid Din Ibnul Arabi* (Lahore, n. d.) p. 72.